

PEACE NEWS

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FASCISM and PEACE

A NOTABLE article in the *New Statesman* (Feb. 15) asks the radical question whether the state-controlled capitalism which has been developed in Germany and is now being developed in Britain can function except under the stimulus of war-production. On rather dubious grounds the writer decides that it cannot. The crucial argument is this:

"It is possible to imagine a State, dominated by the idea of welfare, spurring on its capitalists to produce the maximum quantity of consumers' goods. But it is difficult to conceive what could be the driving force behind such a State. If it were the people, why should they keep the capitalists to levy toll on the product of industry? If it were any other class, why should that class take popular well-being as its objective?"

The weakness of this apparent dilemma is that it assumes a hard and fast distinction between capitalists and the "people", which will be much more blurred than it is today by the end of the war. As more and more of the increased wages of the "people" are deflected into war-savings so the numbers of the demi-semi-capitalists increase. On the other hand, it is not an insuperably difficult task to change the toll of the capitalist entrepreneur into the salary of the high industrial functionary of the State. The cleavage assumed between Fascism and Socialism may very well prove to be in fact invisible.

Still, we agree with the argument of the article that war-preparation is much the easiest way of keeping the universal state-capitalism of the present era less rather than more equalitarian. (In neither case will there be much liberty.) A period of assured peace, in which preparation for total war was suspended, would practically compel industry to concentrate on the production of consumers' goods, which the State would have no alternative but to distribute. We agree therefore—indeed we have said it often enough here—that "it seems likely that the Fascist State can arrive, and maintain itself, in Great Britain only if this war ends in such a way as to begin a period not of peace but of further preparation for war."

How is this period of peace to be secured? The article argues that if we patch up a peace with Nazism, more intense war-preparation would continue; therefore, Fascism would establish itself in Britain. If, on the other hand, we "go through with the war and succeed in destroying the Nazi system in Europe we shall have secure peace, and therefore Socialism.

We believe this argument to be fallacious. A patched-up peace, in the sense of an armed truce, between Britain and Germany now is quite inconceivable. A negotiated peace has got to be a peace, or the negotiations will simply break down. On the other hand, to "go through with the war" involves the task of "policing" Europe. That polite formula cannot disguise the reality; which is the concentration of the energies of Britain on the maintenance and equipment of a vast army of occupation, for an indefinite period—precisely the conditions which, according to the argument, make for the permanent establishment of Fascism in this country.

We do not pretend that the negotiation of peace is a simple matter; in a sense, it is much less simple than to continue the war. The idea that there is an easy way out should be sternly eradicated from the mind of every responsible pacifist. It may be attractive; but it is most certainly false. The difficulties are inherent quite apart from the difficulty of putting public sentiment in reverse. A statesman, or a government, whose sense of moral responsibility was not of the highest order, will almost certainly prefer the simple securities of war to the complicated dangers of peace. That is the tragedy.

PACIFISM OR TYRANNY

By Cyril Hughes

... It has long been a grave question whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. ...

IN these words Abraham Lincoln presented a problem which since his day has become more widespread and more urgent. It is particularly menacing at the present time. We are told that this war is being fought in order to defend democracy and the things that democracy presumably stands for—individual freedom of speech and opinion, the decencies of communal life, and all that is implied in the word "enfranchisement"; but the implications of the armed defence of democracy are not considered by the Government, or, if they are, the general public is not encouraged to consider them.

Let us ignore for the moment the question of whether our brand of democracy is worth defending—the democracy that provides freedom to starve if you can't find work enough to keep you in food—and consider the probable results of a policy of armed defence based even on the assumption that the thing defended is good.

COLD STORAGE

In modern conditions of warfare, as the Government has swiftly come to realize, democracy, individual liberty of any kind, is a danger to the war effort. Total war demands total regimentation, total suppression of individual choice and thought, total submission to centrally decided ways of behaviour. Democracy, which is so desirable a thing that millions of men must be slaughtered in its name, is yet, while the crusade for its deliverance from danger is being waged, so dangerous a thing that it must be ruthlessly banished from the crusaders' camp. That paradox itself ought to make people suspicious.

That is our situation now. We have put democracy into cold storage "for the duration", afterwards to bring it out and thaw it and sit it on its throne again—if it hasn't been frozen to death. In the meantime, victory is of supreme importance, and in order to achieve this we must adopt in essence the very system of the States we are fighting against.

For the totalitarian State, in its simplest terms, is a State organized for war. (It may also be better organized for peace than our own form of plutocracy, but it is characteristically better suited than any other form of government to adaptation for modern war purposes.) In order to organize this country for the effective prosecution of the war we must become, and are rapidly becoming, a totalitarian State.

It would seem, then, that the main difference between us and our "enemies" is that they realized the need for totalitarianism before we did. Nearly all the nations of the world in recent years—certainly ourselves—have based their policies on the need

for preparation for possible war. The dictator-ruled nations have been more realistic in their preparations than we have. That is all. We are doing our best to overhaul them in "realism"—that is to say, in totalitarian autocracy, while our unrealistic, not to say unreal, liberties slip fast away.

NATURE OF WAR

It is amazing how few people realize the nature of the modern war. The struggle now taking place is regarded as being between two opposed ways of life, one of which shall have victory—and we know which one. The fact that the methods of struggle being employed are going to have a profound influence on both sides and their ways of life is ignored.

All the present combatants were changed for the worse by the last war—Germany and Italy more so than ourselves. This time we are bound to suffer that big change—a change in our outlook, our standards, our system of government, and our ability and desire to modify that system. Passing through the furnace of war, the steel rigidity of our principles is bound to become soft and malleable; and we may discover to our surprise, on emerging, that as a finished product we are as one with our mortal enemies.

We can see the change taking place now. More or less independent self-government is disappearing from Britain, giving way to complete centralization in all but local matters. While this gives that unity of policy and direction so essential in modern war, uniformity of acquiescence is achieved by a controlled press and radio, various penalties on opinion provided by new laws and new applications of old ones, informers and spies and a secret police system so secret that few people even suspect its existence, and all the other machinery of dictatorship; and by the natural gregariousness of the populace, whose fear of thinking, in times of crisis, other than what the neighbours think has rendered unnecessary in this country much of the concentrated and individual propaganda found essential on the Continent; though propaganda enough we have, and have had. These are the features of government found necessary to run a war in the year 1941. And they are the features of tyranny.

WHEN IT'S OVER

Some people recognize this. They will admit that in order to wage this war for liberty and democracy we must become a dictatorship. "But", they say, "this is only for the duration. When the war is over all our liberties will return." There is even an official promise to that effect.

But can these liberties, once abandoned, in the nature of things return? As Joad, in the days when he wrote intelligently, pointed out, the type of person achieving office in time of war is not the type to be concerned with other people's liberty in time of peace. It is also a very hard type to dislodge once established. Then the economic chaos (and every other kind of chaos) after the war will necessitate the continuation of totalitarian government. The "emergency" for which special repressive laws were passed will last indefinitely.

Above all, unless this is really a "war to end war" (and nobody has even dared to suggest that this time) we shall have to prepare in peacetime for any possible future attack upon our security. We shall not again make the mistake of insufficient preparation. And sufficient preparation demands totalitarian government. If the possibility of war must be met by preparation for war, we must resign ourselves to perpetual dictatorship. The fact of our fighting this war shows that we can see no other way out.

There is the situation. The defence of democracy by arms is a contradiction in terms. To prepare for such defence of democracy you must cease to be a democracy. The choice before us is not between armed defence of democracy and submission to tyranny. It is between complete non-violent pacifism and tyranny. In the modern world war and democracy are incompatible. One or the other must go. Democracy can only exist as a part of pacifism.

The one hope is that this country, having "won" the war, should so rearrange and order the world that wars would become impossible. But if it were prepared to do what it could in that direction, the present war would stop tomorrow—and it will be much harder afterwards. The fact of our fighting now to the bitter end is the proof that we shall always fight. If that necessity remains a necessity, democracy cannot survive.

Commentary

Food & Shipping Edited by "Observer"

THE week has been notable for some very outspoken statements on the gravity of the food and the shipping situations. Lord Woolton wisely made no bones about the hard time coming, in his statement to the Lords (Feb. 18) and the negative note was remarkable in his words: "We have not lost command of the sea. We shall still import, but we must be ready for much greater restrictions than we have yet experienced."

More ominous has been the unsparing criticism of the Government's handling of the nation's shipping. The editor of the *Evening Standard* (Feb. 19) in a positively violent article declared: "It is quite obvious to everyone that the shipping situation is dangerously and disgracefully acute." It is the second of those adverbs that is ominous: for while it is obvious to every thinking person that the shipping situation is dangerously acute, it is not obvious that it is disgracefully acute. That implies disgraceful mismanagement of the available tonnage.

Efficient Control

JUST as the previous onslaught of the *Daily Mail* on the management of our shipping culminated in the demand that a shipping magnate should be appointed to complete control, so does the onslaught of the *Evening Standard*. It definitely demands the appointment of Mr. Leonard Cripps, of the great Liverpool firm of Richard Holt and Co.

The doctrinaire Socialist has no difficulty in discovering in all this the insidious effort to extend the tentacles of monopoly capitalism during the country's emergency. I am not so sure. Manifestly, it is not easy to find an efficient substitute for the technical capacity of the managing directors of capitalist industry. This practical impasse is seldom honestly

THE PURPOSE OF THE FIGHTING FUND

I HAVE been asked to make clear the purpose of the Fighting Fund. Its ultimate object is to establish a pacifist co-operative printing press; but it also has to serve immediately as a reserve fund in case of sudden emergency the nature of which I would be foolish to specify. I am glad to say that the fund has not yet been trenched on for any such purpose. But a long steady pull for the ultimate objective is required. The contributions for last week amounted to £37 13s. 4d. making the total £1,497 10s. 8d.

THE EDITOR

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

considered by those who assume that Fascism and Socialism are mutually exclusive. But it is real. And it is one of the reasons why history is likely to throw up a number of hybrid systems.

Balkan Necessities

"THIS German march to the East," writes Mr. Brailsford in Reynolds (Feb. 23), "is one of the most audacious things that has ever succeeded in history." Without accepting the judgment as it stands, I accept the estimate of value implied in it. The establishment of a German hegemony over the Balkans is the most significant happening in the war. Indeed, Mr. Brailsford's own article is a detailed demonstration that the German advance to the East has been economically inevitable. It was audacious in the purely military sense, no doubt—particularly after the discomfiture of the Italians by the Greeks—to advance with Yugoslavia on the one flank and Russia on the other. But it is not primarily a military operation at all. The Balkan States do not resist because they do not want to resist. As Mr. Brailsford says:

More important and more permanent than all this is the economic calculation which faces all these Eastern States tomorrow no less than today. They can live only by exporting their crops and livestock to the industrial west and centre of Europe, and only with Germany have they long-term bar-

gains that give them economic security. Their inability to combine in time of war flows from the fact that in time of peace they do not need and cannot help each other. Nor can Russia remedy this situation since she does not need what they produce. In short, they have succumbed because they must have their place not in a Balkan but in a European economic system.

Precisely the same argument, in greater detail, is used by the *New Statesman* (Feb. 22). The parallelism is so marked that I guess a common author.

Need of Economic Unity

IT is, as we have so often urged before, lamentable that the basic principles which govern the situation in the Near East appear to be so much abracadabra to the British Government. The idea that this is not primarily a military war is too revolutionary. The great military strength of Germany is the grim midwife to the birth (long overdue) of a new economic European unity. It is the overwhelming need of Europe for economic unity of which the German war-lords have made themselves the instrument. As Mr. Brailsford says, "Europe cannot be won by arms alone, and the Nazis are too wise to try." That is axiomatic to an understanding of the European situation today; and it should be axiomatic to British policy. For a wise statesmanship accepts realities which it has no power to change. The only way of preventing the Balkans from passing within the German orbit is quite literally to destroy

Germany—to raze its industries to the ground, to reduce its citizens to the condition of agricultural serfs, and so to prevent it from being the appointed market for the agricultural produce of the Near East.

No Economic Alternative

EVEN if this enterprise—"Carthago delenda est"—were capable of accomplishment, we should be quite unable to provide a market for the agricultural produce of the Near East ourselves. The plain fact is that there is no alternative to the economic preponderance of Germany in Europe.

What we could do is to exert an influence on the political modalities under which the German economic hegemony is exercised. Nazi economic efficiency need not necessarily be accompanied by Nazi political brutality. The Anglo-Saxon world has some powerful cards still to play, if it only knew how to play them. But all that our silence offers to Europe is anarchy.

Ministry of Non-Violence

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a cutting from a recent issue of the *Daily Mirror*, concerning the instructions which, it says, the MoI will shortly be giving on behaviour in the event of invasion. The three most important instructions, says the *Mirror*, will probably be:

If and when the invaders come, just stay where you are.
If your village is in the hands of the

enemy, adopt the attitude of non-violent resistance.

I omit the third, in order to suggest that, in the event of these instructions being issued, it should be announced at the same time that Mr. Gandhi has been invited to England to show us how to do it.

The Vichy Market

THE vagaries of the European food situation are remarkable. "A week ago," says the neutral Vichy correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (Feb. 20) "the Vichy market, the outlet for this rich agricultural area, had nothing better to sell than mandarins and bananas."

mandarins (otherwise tangerine oranges) I understand, for they are copiously produced in the South of France, but how about the bananas? Possibly they are now grown in North Africa. But the interesting point is that two things which we cannot now obtain for love or money—bananas and oranges—are the only two things they have to sell at Vichy. Which things are a parable.

"Purveyors of Balderdash"

TO Lord Ponsonby belongs the honour of initiating a valuable debate in the Lords on the recent broadcasts of Sir Robert Vansittart. He said:

I am asking that the Government should sternly prevent these purveyors of balderdash from approaching the microphone. And I think they should no longer be retained in high offices where wisdom, foresight, and caution are necessary.

Lord Cranborne was evidently embarrassed to reply. It had been the general custom, he said, that Civil Servants did not express a strong view; but "because a thing had never been done before, it did not mean that it could never be done." That is a surprisingly weak defence of a shocking offence against the best traditions of the British Civil Service. Unfortunately, Lord Cranborne was able to say that the broadcasts had been read and their delivery approved by Lord Halifax. That was irresponsible on the part of a Foreign Secretary, and we can only conclude that the Christian crusader has eliminated the statesman from Lord Halifax's composition.

The British Way

I WAS glad to see that *The Times* (Feb. 20) took a very firm line on the question, which is indeed one of principle quite fundamental to the British system of government. Sir Robert Vansittart's action, and the Government defence of it,

mean in effect an obvious breach in the whole tradition of the British Civil Service, hitherto jealously guarded. . . . There is apparently no reason henceforth why any member of that Service, from the highest to the lowest, should not publish his opinion on matters, however delicate and difficult, with which he is appointed to deal officially. And let it not be thought that at a time of the breaking of nations this is a trivial matter. The one thing which, I hope, will save us from the excesses of a soulless totalitarianism is the British code of political decency. That is why it is alarming that a statesman of high conscience like Lord Halifax should have been apparently unconscious of the crucial nature of the offence he was condoning.

I am the more concerned about this matter because it is to this tradition of decency in British politics and administration that *Peace News* owes the possibility of continued existence.

"Enemies of the Country"

I HAVE been asked to comment on the recent dictum of Mr. Duff Cooper that pacifists are "enemies of their country." I will say no more than that I believe that history will judge, at no very distant date, who more truly deserves that description: the pacifist or the Minister of Information. But for the purposes of record I will quote his statement in full from *Hansard*, with the caution that I believe it seriously misrepresents the attitude of the Archbishop of York.

If a man spends his leisure time in making public speeches against carrying on the war, if a man is a notorious pacifist and thereby helps our enemies, and is therefore an enemy of this country—which pacifists are, for, in the words of the Archbishop of York, pacifists are deliberately helping Hitler to win the war—then he should not be given the privilege of being allowed to address the public, or even promoted to the distinction of performing in public over the wireless.

"The New Order"

I AM told that the Germans are now soft-pedalling on their propaganda for the New Order, because it has become the theme for ribald and subversive jests. Thus, when a few thousand cows are deported from an occupied territory, the local wags say: "The New Order!" A wry joke, but a good one—and one not relished by the German authorities.

Which gives me the opportunity to clarify what some regard as my ambiguous attitude to the aforesaid New Order. Being a pacifist, I am certain that in the long run the Germanic New Order cannot endure; on the political side it violates too many of the basic human decencies. But I am also convinced that on the economic side it cannot be overthrown by military force, but only by a better order.

Faith in Law

THIS better order—this economic unity of Europe with "a vein of liberty"—is the positive peace-aim with which Britain must be publicly identified on pain of having nothing to offer Europe save anarchy. Britain must speak, so that all can understand, a liberating word: a word which promises at once liberation from nationalism and from the Gestapo.

That is to say, Britain must proclaim its adherence to a system of European law: a law which curbs both the anarchy of nationalism and the brutality of terrorism. That, it may be said, is Utopian. I am not sure that it is; but even if it were, it is none the less our duty to proclaim our faith. My grievance is that the basic issues of this terrible conflict have never been lifted to the plane where they belong; neither have we done the one thing needful—proclaim our readiness to make the sacrifices necessary in order that law may reign.

John Middleton Murry

OUTLINES of PEACE-II

IN the first of this series of three articles (published last week), the Editor of *Peace News* rejected the attitude that dismisses the German outline of a new order as mere slavery and said there must be a United States of Europe—not a federation of political democracies, but an economic union of countries.

Yet it is probably true that national independence is still the most potent moral category in European politics. That it is objectively obsolescent has not yet seriously affected its subjective vitality; and hundreds of thousands of people whose rational minds recognize not only the inadequacy, but the downright danger, of any restoration of sovereign national independence, in the Versailles sense, to the nations—including ourselves—nevertheless in their hearts succumb to its fascination, and pursue it by their acts.

Actually, what the world needs is a drastic dissociation of ideas both in international and domestic politics. Just as a knowledge of the distinction between individuality and individualism is required of members of the domestic society, so a knowledge of the distinction between nationality and nationalism is required of the members of the international society.

And there is no gainsaying that such knowledge, if it is to issue in effective action, cannot be merely intellectual. Its efficiency must depend on a moral or spiritual awakening; for under its garb of abstraction is concealed the recognition of the truth that a man's or a nation's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth. Or, "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

IMPERIALISM

That is not merely a supernatural truth; it is also a natural one. For, as Dean Inge has said, "nothing fails like success"—above all in imperialism. In the long run, which is often surprisingly short, the captive captures the captor.

But, it may be said, imperialism and national independence are very different things. They ought to be, but they are not, above all, on the continent of Europe. The national independence of Czecho-Slovakia demanded the subjection of the Sudeten Germans; the national independence of Poland demanded the subjection of both Germans and white Russians.

Nationalism is for ever passing over into imperialism, and insecurity, and war. And the only practicable ways of putting an end to the fatal

process appear to be two: the first, and the better way, the establishment of a genuine United States of Europe by consent; the second, and also the more probable, the establishment of a United States of Europe by force majeure.

CONSENT IMPRACTICABLE

The war itself is an indication that the first way is not practicable. It is palpably unjust to put the whole blame on Germany. It was Britain which refused to follow the Briand-Stresemann initiative for a United States of Europe in the crucial year 1929. And how little the smaller nations were prepared for the self-restraint it calls for was shown by the ugly rapacity of Poland in seizing the Teschen area the moment Germany invaded Czecho-Slovakia. It was a notable retribution when Poland, a year later, had to suffer precisely the same treatment at the hands of Russia.

The disappointed idealist must recognize that it is folly to hope that a United States of Europe—a viable pan-European federation of democracies, no longer sovereign—will be established by consent after this war. The nationalistic passions which blazed so hotly in Eastern Europe in the years immediately before the war, are not likely to be cooled by the war itself; and we may be sure that the Polish and Czech Governments in exile are brooding the imposition of a super-Versailles on Germany, once they have got her down.

Even a completely victorious Britain would be rapidly exhausted by the effort to keep the peace in Eastern Europe. There would be no escape from the plain necessity—to disarm the lot: Germans, Czechs, Poles and the rest—and how then escape attempting to disarm the Russians as well? The task is impossible.

Speaking realistically, the only effective power Britain will have any chance of bringing to bear on post-war Europe, steadily and over a long period, is sea-power. All the grand talk of policing Europe by British armies is idle nonsense. We have not, and never shall have, the man-power to make it possible: even if we could imagine a Britain devoting its energies for generations—in the selfless spirit of Plato's "guardians"—to the task of keeping Europe in order by a British Raj. It is conceivable, however, that the British-American Navy will be in a position to exercise an effective pressure upon Europe: for a truly self-sufficient Europe, at any rate at the standards of Western civilization, belongs (in spite of German boasts) to the dim and distant future.

A CONSOLIDATING POWER

But the distinctive and peculiar feature of such pressure is that it must, in the nature of things, be exerted on Europe indiscriminately, that is, on

Europe as a whole. This appears to be of great potential significance. The exercise of British-American sea-power must tend toward the economic and political consolidation of Europe. But, equally, it can be used to influence the nature of that consolidation.

Or, to put it more concretely still, British-American sea-power can do singularly little to prevent Germany from establishing an economic-political hegemony over Europe; for all it can do is to threaten Europe with universal ruin—and right up to the moment of actual European collapse. German skill in technical organization will be essential to the life of Europe. But British-American sea-power could decisively influence the way in which the German hegemony is exercised.

At any moment, British-American statesmanship could say: "We will help to make the United States of Europe prosperous, by opening up the floodgates of world-trade, provided it really is something like a United States of Europe. We know that a genuine democratic federation of Europe is for the time being impossible. It is our declared intention not to dictate the forms of European government. But there must be a centre of power, if Europe is not to be in a condition of permanent anarchy. We recognize that the centre of power must be in a Franco-German union. Provided that the central power acts with a sense of responsibility toward all the peoples of Europe, respecting their legitimate claims for local autonomy, we are willing to collaborate in the creation of a new Europe."

APPROACH TO PEACE

That, I think, would be a realistic and sane approach to an enduring European peace. It would involve a final break with our anarchical policy of the balance of power. It would involve a break with what has been called "the amazing provincialism of American political thought", which is always apt to impose doctrinaire conceptions of democracy upon Europe. It would involve a recognition that Hitler's achievement is something more than the brigandage of a "bad man"; that he is doing brutally what we had not the courage to do well. And, last but not least, it would enable Britain to make clear to the Americans that armies would not be required of them.

It would enable British sea-power to shed its terrible ambiguity (of which Britons are so strangely unaware) and to manifest itself, necessarily in conjunction with American sea-power, as a police-force for international peace, not national aggrandisement.

(P.S. Since the above was written, Mr. Churchill has declared that American armies will not be required in Europe (Feb. 9). Then, the peace-policy outlined in these articles is the logical consequence.)

(To be concluded.)

BIRMINGHAM PACIFIST SERVICE UNIT

lacks money and volunteers. Space forbids our saying more, so see PHILIP L. MARTIN, 274, Harborne Park Road, 17, HARBORNE 1681.

C.O.s Accused of Mutiny

THE more serious charge of mutiny, instead of the usual charge of disobeying an order, has been brought against five conscientious objectors who refused to go on parade when ordered to do so by the CSM.

All the men—R. A. Squires, H. A. Parker, I. D. Moggach, J. Jennings, and W. Grey—had already done 56 days in detention barracks, and had returned to camp at Liverpool, where, on Wednesday of last week, they were ordered to go on parade. None obeyed, and they were then ordered individually to parade, the orders being given in the presence of an officer. Again they refused, and later in the day were taken before Lt.-Col. Greenwood and charged with disobeying an order.

They were remanded pending "a more serious charge being preferred", and on Friday they again appeared before the colonel. After admitting disobedience, they were charged with mutiny and remanded for court-martial.

The Central Board for COs is watching the case.

GROUP NOTES

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member: I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained, is: PPU HEADQUARTERS, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

'SUB JUDICE'

By JOHN BARCLAY

I CAN say nothing about the happenings of the last two weeks. The case is "sub judice".

There is, however, another dispute still unsettled, about which there is no need to be silent. It is forcing the law to suggest that because a war is in progress the free people of a free country must treat the issue of the war as "sub judice". Only by the full expression of a democratic opinion

and the facing of all the facts can a just conclusion be arrived at. Either we are a free people, capable of directing our criticism and desirous of hearing the truth, or we are a slave nation, inarticulate and fearful.

Powerful forces within us urge us to be silent no longer. We know the fate of those who voluntarily accept the curtailment of their freedom—they become the mouth-piece of those who have enslaved them. We are not slaves, either to tradition or authority. We are conscious beings with minds of our own, with wills free to act and with courage to articulate the demands of the inarticulate. There is no voice when the tongue is tied, and when the voice is silent too long the ear loses its sensitivity.

Fascism comes by silent acquiescence and can only be beaten by the triumphant assertion of democratic liberties—free speech, free association, and candid criticism. Pacifists are democratic, and they call to all those who believe in democracy to come to their side in maintaining liberty before it is too late.

I should like to thank the innumerable friends who have written to me, as I find it impossible to answer them personally.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Kidderminster.—At the annual meeting of the Kidderminster Group, the secretary reported that meetings had been held fortnightly throughout 1940 with an average attendance of 15. Mr. Boulton had undertaken to give members a series of first-aid lessons, clothing and money had been sent for relief work in London, and six London evacuees had been accommodated with members and friends. The group was in touch with 40 of the 66 men registered locally as COs.

Glasgow Region.—The Liaison Committee have drawn up a comprehensive report on the difficulties of the local PPU in these times with suggestions for overcoming them. This has been sent to every group leader for groups to discuss before the Regional Committee meeting on March 20. A Peace News street selling drive was arranged for last Saturday.

Dover.—The group, although small in numbers, continues to function and contact is maintained with those members unable to attend meetings. The weekly circulation of Peace News is 11, and members are asked to make an effort to obtain new readers. The group secretary was recently registered conditionally as a conscientious objector.

London E.10 and E.11.—A study course, drawn up by Mr. C. F. Tifford, occupies members at alternate group meetings. Designed partly to remedy the complaint that the limited time generally available for important subjects at group meetings rendered the discussions too superficial, it is hoped that it will make it possible to go really deeply into the problems of pacifism, modern society, economics and the new world order.

Enfield.—Desiring to render some form of social service, members have begun fire watching for Enfield War Memorial Hospital, each member devoting two nights a week for a 12-hour duty. So far, the necessity of extinguishing fire-bombs has not arisen.

Peace Council and Blockade

Moved by the Peace Pledge Union delegates, the following resolution was passed by the National Peace Council last Thursday.

THE National Peace Council recognizes that the British Government has so far felt unable to agree to schemes for the mitigation of the worst effects of the food blockade upon the peoples of the German-occupied countries of Europe because of the conviction that such schemes of food relief could only serve to reinforce the war effort of Germany.

The Council appreciates that it may be impracticable to establish a system providing absolute guarantees. Nevertheless, proposals for neutrally controlled relief offering a high degree of assurance against misuse have been formulated, and in the Council's view the advantages to be gained from a successful attempt to lessen the hardship in these countries—particularly in the case of mothers and children—would justify the most sympathetic consideration of these proposals and their acceptance by the British Government provided adequate guarantees are secured.

Such a course would be warranted, the Council believes, not only on general grounds of humanity, but also on the grounds that it would bring strength and encouragement to peoples who have been and desire to remain allies and sympathizers in the cause for which we stand.

Community Notes

Both the Lincolnshire and the Somerset schemes for acquiring farms for community land training are now in urgent need of funds.

All who intend to make donations, or to lend money either interest-free or at a rate of interest not exceeding 3½ per cent., should communicate immediately with the Acting Secretaries, C.L.T.A., The Oaks, Langham, Colchester, in the case of the Lincolnshire scheme; and, in the case of the Somerset (Goose Green Farm) scheme, with Donald J. Weight, Greycot, Roman Way, Glastonbury.

In both cases the situation is one of great urgency. The Goose Green society has to complete the purchase of the farm within a few weeks, while the Lincolnshire scheme has not yet received firm promises sufficient to enable it to go ahead.

Women's Section

Compulsory registration for war work is much in our minds at the moment, and the Women's Committee is preparing a statement or, possibly, a leaflet, dealing with the matter. Every effort is being made to ensure that there is a "conscientious objection" clause included in the new measure. It seems to us very important to examine carefully every point of view, and so I give below the opinion of one PPU member.

SYBIL MORRISON

WOMEN'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY

By Mary Wray

FOR the last few weeks I have eagerly scanned the pages of Peace News for some comment on the latest development of war, the conscription of women; but apart from one brief reference (and that not in the Women's Column!) I have been disappointed, and this is an appeal for some publicity to be given to the subject.

What will be the attitude of women pacifists? I suppose most of us, when the conscription of manpower was becoming law, did our share in trying to enlighten public opinion on the gravity of the step. Now that the measure may be applied to us, are we to accept it passively?

For those who believe in a true equality of the sexes, this should be an opportunity welcomed because of the concrete possibility of a woman's stand, equal to the stand of the CO. What a stupendous contribution women could make to history by standing solidly now for Peace and Freedom.

TWO MAIN CONSIDERATIONS

In clarifying my own position, the following considerations gave me thought. Firstly, the principle of conscription is terribly wrong. No living being should allow himself to become the slave of any person or State; and though the new measure could be opposed purely on that issue, I personally preferred to make what seemed to me a stronger denial of the war method itself, by protesting against the purposes for which it has been introduced.

The second point which is quite clear in my mind is that, since there is no provision for conscience (as distinct from hardship), there is no alternative course for me but to abstain from registering. I do feel it is important, however, for those who adopt a similar position, to notify the Minister of Labour that they do not propose to register, and give their reasons. This serves the double purpose of making your views known to a responsible Minister, and eliminates any charge of hoping to evade responsibility by obscurity. In my own case I wrote to the Minister on the day that the possibility of conscription of women was announced.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Can some space be given to this important question? It is already late, but in the short time that may be left before the first age groups have to register, it would, I am sure, be helpful to many to have some thoughts on the subject.

My own opinion is that if women do not raise their voices in unison now, a great opportunity will have been lost, and we shall have failed not only those who struggled for our present degree of emancipation, but those generations to come who must bear the consequences of our action today. It will be a failure that will make us unworthy of the powers that have been entrusted to us.

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The Renascence of Pacifism

by

DAVID A. KENNEDY

WHILE the war has created a "twilight" of pacifist activity it has also created the conditions for a type of analysis and introspection which may soon bear its results.

Our problem in the last year has been how to maintain the enthusiasm vital to the organization, when faced with the complete political irrelevance of pacifism. We have been confronted with moments in which it has been impossible to state how to achieve peace: moments in which we could only reiterate the principles which are indispensable to the creation of a just peace, even though we knew they had no application in an insane world. At best there have been fugitive moments when the possibility of negotiation appeared to be politically relevant, only to disappear in the ever changing current of power politics.

What has the change in the historical situation meant to the Peace Pledge Union as an organization? Let us be frank—the hundred and forty thousand signatories of the Peace Pledge were mostly men and women who were attracted by the immediacy of Dick Sheppard's policy. Now the winnowing process of the war has shaken off many of them, while it has left many more bewildered in a fog of inaction. Only a few, the younger and more active, have found in ambulance work, social service, community enterprises, etc., an expression of their human desire to have something immediate to offer.

WANTED, A DYNAMIC

And yet a movement cannot remain virile without a dynamic of some kind. The dynamic of the pre-war PPU was its simple pledge. In an entirely different historic situation from the present one, Dick Sheppard divined that, with the trend of events heading for another world war, humanity had a

sporting chance. If sufficient people in the most influential European nation would clearly express their determination never to support the outrage of war, their leaders would be forced to a complete change of traditional policy. It failed; perhaps we were too optimistic of human nature—perhaps not.

Yet the immediate possibility of avoiding war by making converts was the dynamic which made the PPU an evangelical force. Today with total war a blinding reality, our previous dynamic is now an anachronism, and pacifists stand on the threshold of momentous times, after a purging which has left us bloody but, thank God, unbowed.

This year will be vital to pacifists, for in it they will be called upon, I believe, to formulate a policy for an entirely new historic situation. What the dynamic of that policy will be, we cannot foretell. We only know that four years ago, it was to save men's bodies from the destruction of modern war—perhaps this time it may be to save their souls from the atrophy of totalitarianism. In the juxtaposition there may be a clue.

THE MASS APPEAL

Yet men no longer care about their souls, and the appeal to live a life centred on human rather than economic values, will never again have the mass appeal of the original Peace Pledge; at the best we can only hope for an infiltration of men and women who are weary of a social relationship which is inhuman; and that revulsion will not come suddenly.

Let us then realize that to think in terms of mass-conversions, mass-meetings, and the things which belonged to the pre-war strivings will be to delude ourselves about the post-war world. I believe the privilege of mass-propaganda, as we used to know it, will be reserved only for that circle of propagandists who conform to the pattern of the New Britain. And men will come to us only because they need us and the way of living which pacifism stands for.

I have found it rather difficult to adjust myself to a pacifism with no poster-parades, no street-corner meetings, no mass-demonstrations; for these strivings were an essential part of the dynamic of our movement, and the humanitarian work which absorbs many pacifists in war-time will cease to do so in peace-time.

Mere doctrinaire discussion, with a dash of social service, as we know it, is not enough to weld together the mass of pacifists and like-minded people, who must feel they are taking part in a crusade. A crusade for what? In Dick Sheppard's time, it was to "stop the next war". A general realization will not be enough, only some "particular", vivid and real, can win men's imaginations.

When we have found that dynamic, we shall have seen the beginning of the renascence of pacifism.

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The Pacifist Gambit

I HAVE just read in Peace News Marcella Horman's letter in which she describes the hostile reaction of casual acquaintances to the pacifist case. My own experience is so different that I can only conclude that I have (quite by accident) stumbled upon a sound opening.

Many times when the conversation has turned to the war I have commented on the waste of it, the insanity of it, the cruelty of it, the fact that the common people of all nations never wanted it, that it is really a civil war. I can honestly say I have never received a check early in the game.

From this it is an easy step to "And to think it could have been avoided if the ruling class of Britain, France, and the USA had fostered the spirit of goodwill and co-operation in Germany instead of crushing it and even in some cases openly encouraging Nazism and Fascism, as certain of them did—newspapers, politicians and financiers; but of course they had India and the Empire to think of and feared the spread of libertarian and collectivist thought." Even this is usually taken lying down, and if not, it starts a magnificent argument with

world-co-operation as the focus instead of strife.

Often there is a lull, for few readers of the Mail, Observer, or Mirror have thought along these lines before. I think the lull is due to rumination rather than coolness (and anyhow I am all for coolness!). So I begin again. "And after this lot, whoever wins—and I believe USA or USSR is bound to win in the end—they will only inherit a packet of trouble, poverty, disease, and ruin. The longer it goes on the more the future trouble. It does seem futile, doesn't it? The question is, how to stop it?" (That is where the gambit comes in.)

If they do not argue after that, they must be sick of a palsy! But I have found many who react favourably, and our conclusion is often that we all should hate a Nazi victory or even a mere "cessation of hostilities", though even that would be preferable to European suicide with USA and USSR as the delighted undertakers. No, I suggest, the only hope is for as many people as possible to contract out and pledge themselves to resist oppression from all sides by passive resistance and active Christianity.

A surprisingly large proportion agree, some wholeheartedly, others grudgingly. Some call you an idealist and thus lay themselves open to a crack about realism. Others sigh pathetically and a few grunt ungraciously. Not a few turn out to be disguised pacifists all the time! None I have come across have resorted to violence or vituperation. If they did, I should regard that as merely a victory achieved by upsetting the board to avoid an obvious mate.

After all, we should be sanguine if we hoped to convince anyone worth convincing, in one discussion. A sensible discussion alone, at this stage, is something of an achievement.

V. BENN

The Chess Club, Friends' Institute, Mount Street, Manchester.

An Appeal to the Common Man

While sharing the desire of your correspondent, A. Frederic Philp, that pacifists should be aware of the probable results of their own policy, I feel bound to point out that my recent article did not deal with "ending empire-holding" as such. My purpose was to answer those who say that talk of a negotiated peace is unpatriotic, and to suggest to them that our present national policy might not be truly patriotic.

I hoped to appeal to that elusive person, the "man-in-the-street" (hence my pen-name). The common man is not primarily moved by the economic consequence of a particular policy—otherwise he would not support this war. He is, perhaps almost unconsciously, moved by noble sentiments; therefore he is constantly told that his patriotic—even his sacred—duty is to support the prosecution of the war to a bitter end. People in that frame of mind are likely, as Dr. L. P. Jacks has recently pointed out, to damn the consequences.

If we hope to convert the common man to the extent of supporting the idea of negotiation, we must first overcome the resistance arising from his belief that to make peace now would be wrong. Do that, and you can discuss with him later the other problems which inevitably arise—the method to be adopted, the economic results, and so on.

In tackling that primary task, it would doubtless seem to more intellectual readers that I was "skimming the surface of a most complex matter." But you would not attract the common man by plunging him immediately into a discussion of all the issues involved. More expert pens than mine regularly deal with those issues in Peace News; they are well able to satisfy any thirst for more knowledge which might be induced.

I must admit that my phrase "to try it would cost nothing" was, perhaps, unfortunate. But it referred to the proposed offer to play our part in ending empire-holding; and this "would cost nothing" in the sense that if the offer failed to produce a response we should be in no worse a situation than we are now from the point of

view of the common man. (From the pacifist's viewpoint, of course, that seems a pretty desperate situation, anyway!)

As a pacifist I personally am prepared to accept whatever suffering may be involved in unilateral action, though I believe the political miracle of generosity on the scale suggested might well produce such results that the nation making it would literally lose nothing, though prepared to lose all. For thus might be laid the foundation of a world order wherein abundance would be shared between all men; from that, all men would gain.

But I did not advocate this in my article. I asked for something not quite so miraculous—an offer to play our part in ending empire-holding, as a basis for peace talks. That is, an offer to take part in joint action, as distinct from an announcement of our intention to act—to use a famous phrase—"if necessary alone." If I failed to make this sufficiently clear, I apologize.

THE PLAIN MAN

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EDUCATIONAL

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive, and intellectual gifts, correspondence lessons 5s. each—Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.1. PACIFIST SCHOOL-COMMUNITY at Alderwood, Greenham Common, near Newbury, offers scope and responsibility to two keen and experienced people able to live co-operatively with children: Man as full-time gardener (Howard's methods composting, etc.); woman for food-reform vegetarian cooking; pocket money basis.

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ANGLICANS or others with Evangelical Catholic outlook, send stamp for details of community; ultimate aim land and crafts scheme; daily Mass; Reservation. Box 680, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LAND UNION. The first group of this new national enterprise is now complete and is commencing its activities. I am ready to receive applications from readers who would like to join the second group. Members must be prepared: (a) To do land work; (b) To live in a Christian community; (c) To invest £100 in their community. In return, members receive board and lodging, wages, and share in profits. Further particulars with details of meetings to be held may be had by sending a stamped foolscap envelope to Kenneth Murphy, Trelicch Farm, Hartland, Devon.

LANSBURY GATE FARM needs urgently 3 coulter Brush Seed Drill new or second-hand for immediate use; will purchase, although gift welcomed. Also needed later, 12 coulter Corn Drill and tractor-drawn grass-mower; manufacturers unable to fulfil order previously confirmed. Please write War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

LONDON COMMUNITY doing social work needs member (Christian pacifist man) to work allotment (recognized land work); small wage. 95 Leighton Rd., N.W.5.

PACIFIST ARTIST, 33, conditionally exempt, requires work nursery, market garden, etc.; practical experience and interest vegetables and fruit; nominal remuneration; Herts or South or West countries preferred. Box 679, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST WANTED, work with another, market gardening, farming; experience unnecessary; interesting group life, varied work. "Claremont," Hatfield Heath, Bishops Cleeve, W.1.

PACIFIST who wishes to start market garden or small holding seeks working partner with experience and able to contribute some capital. Box 674, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, 24, some farm experience, good milk, seeks change; South Bucks or district preferred. Moore, Sunny Mead, Ashwell, near Baldock, Herts.

WANTED, land, develop small holding, preferably South; limit £90. Box 673, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Prime Minister and Bombing

IN his speech on February 9, the Prime Minister declared that, during the winter months, the Germans had been able to drop three or four tons of bombs on this country while we (Britain) had been able to drop only one ton on Germany in return. He prophesied that presently the position would be the other way round.

In my view, what is happening (and has happened) in Britain and Germany today is without a stitch of honour, and is utterly and entirely unworthy of the name of war (if war was ever worthy of a name). This plain barbarism and insanity of designed mass massacre must be ended without further delay. In that it was designed, it can be abolished, and the way to begin is to STOP BOMBING.

If there is any wisdom, any humanity, and any rational desire for self-preservation in the minds of statesmen guiding the destinies of those countries not involved in this conflict, let them appeal to the conscience of the world. That this game of bombing the civil populations has become so foul for the want of a Referee, is now too painfully evident to need demonstration. It has been said of this country, "We can take it." All I ask is, to what end? In this total war, life and property have been criminally destroyed. Could they take it? And what of those who gave it them?

As far as I can see, unless the warring countries are willing to make the earth a place too fear-stricken for human life, this bombing must be stopped without further delay. For there is not one question affecting the moral honour of mankind that does not wait upon the removal of this appalling dishonour to us all.

A. J. COOK

93 Melville Road, N.W.10.

LITERATURE & C.

COMPLETED BOOK. I am a Conscientious Objector; require publisher. Quarmby, 11 Enid St., Salford 7.

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PERSONAL

PARENTS anxious to evacuate children to a Pacifist nursery-home; diet-reform, trained teacher and nurse. Communicate with Box 672, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WILL ANY PACIFIST in the Ruthin, Mold area, N. Wales, kindly communicate with Mr. J. Ellis, "Saith-Daran", Llandegla.

SITUATIONS VACANT

COOK for Cafe; 30s. and food; under cook kept; C.O. relative preferred. Box 678, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MAN wanted—experience not essential—for butchery; good wages. Apply Lidstone (butcher), Mutley Plain, Plymouth.

WANTED URGENTLY, enthusiastic nursery and kindergarten teacher for new creative venture in South Scotland. No salary but good living. Box 671, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS

BIRMINGHAM F.O.R. invites you to a meeting at Carrs Lane Church, Sunday, March 9; 12.30 picnic lunch; 1.30 Rev. A. G. Knott on the social and political background of Christ's ministry.

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PACIFIST SERVICE BUREAU appeals for the following: Furniture for a new East End relief centre; China for the new Langham farm scheme; Children's books, paint boxes, and constructional toys for a shelter scheme. Please write or telephone your offers to 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1 (Euston 5501).

THE OFFICE of the Forward Movement of the Peace Pledge Union, now at 36 Howland St., W.1, will be open each afternoon from 12.30 to 6 o'clock, Monday-Saturday.

Circulation Notes

STEADY, BUT SURE

By John W. Cowling

A PART from meetings in the Eastern Midlands and East Anglia last week and this, and a recent visit to Hastings, I have had the opportunity lately of personal contact with distributors and groups in and around London. With many Home Counties meetings in coming weeks, my impression so far is that good progress has been made in overcoming the problems of large-scale evacuation with its effect on sales.

Many groups manage to find new readers at a rate which cannot in the circumstances be spectacular, but which is steady enough to be encouraging. It involves a great deal of steady work in following up all likely opportunities, and in this everyone can help.

18,000 MILESTONE PASSED

This steady work—not only in London but in a great number of provincial towns—is slowly but surely sending up our total circulation. I shall not attempt to mention cases here; to do so adequately would be impossible. But everyone concerned will feel it some reward to know that for the past two weeks our circulation has exceeded 18,000 copies.

I must, however, own that at Hastings I had the unique experience of finding that every suggestion (except one) which I put forward had already been tried at one time or another! This group has maintained circulation despite the removal of some 40,000 of the 65,000 inhabitants.

Street-selling still clamours for a corner. Here's the latest news from pitches not previously reported:

In Bournemouth it is now a regular Sunday morning activity: highest sales so far, fifteen copies; inquiries by police and a private detective, but no real trouble—apart from five youths who bought a copy to tear it up in front of the seller.

Liverpool sold 24 copies outside a concert hall on a recent Saturday, and have since continued this activity—women sellers only. And—note this—two of the sellers have joined the PPU only since Christmas, as a result of meeting two members who sold on Boxing Day.

A SALES HINT

(Stuart Isaac, of Bath, provides this week's suggestion: that queues provide good pitches, for people have more time to read the poster; also arcades and the kerb opposite the door of a large shop, where people often already have money in their hand and need not stop to fumble for it—a small point but, perhaps, psychologically important.)

Street-sellers and others can now be supplied, on demand, with a new poster, reading: "Use Your Freedom: Read Peace News". Sybil Morrison sold twenty copies, with this poster, at the conference held by the National Council for Civil Liberties in London recently.

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